THE CAROLINA SPARTAN

BY CAVIS & TRIMMIER.

Devoted to Southern Rights, Politics, Agriculture, and Miscellany.

\$2 PER ANNUM.

VOL. XIII.

SPARTANBURG, S. C., THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1856.

NO. 5.

THE CAROLINA SPARTAN. BY CAVIS & TRIMMER.

T. O. P. VERNON, Associate Editor.

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SPEECH OF HON A. P. BUTLER.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA. IN THE SENATE, March 5, 1856.

On the President's Message of Feb. 18, 1856, re-lative to affairs in Kausas Territory. In reply to a suggestion made by his friend Mr. Hunter to adjourn the debate to

accommodate Mr. Butler; Mr. Butler said: Mr. President, I prefer of Senators, or by newspaper communications, in relation to the part which my friend General Atchison has acted in Kan-

ture may disclose I know not; but this much I will say before I approach the main subject on which I intend to deliver my views, that we are reduced, by the issue which has been made in Kansas, to the alternative either of suffering the President, under the message which he has sent to us and the proclamation which he has issued, to exercise his high office to preserve the peace which is threatened to be disturbed in Kansas, or subject ourselves to the usurpation of squatter sovereignty and the discretion of an uncalculating fanaticism; raising a whirlwind on which it may not be able to ride. This is the issue which is present ed to us. For if the President does not interpose his authority to preserve peace, 1 have no reason to conclude but that the will have more effect on civilization and on society than all the blood shed in all the battles of antiquity, or in the struggles at Borodino and the battles which followed it. Sir, I am entirely persuaded that, if we are to approach what has been threatened -a rupture of this Union-or if we are to preserve the Union, it is the duty of every man, as far as he can, to throw his influtify the course of the President, so as to be free from the consequences which may otherwise grow out of this fearful issue. Yes, sir, if the South is forced to take her destiny in her separate keeping, let us do all we can to justify our conduct before the tribunal of history; let us do all we can in the way of explanation to dispel delusion and rebuke the mad spirit which has infused itself into the public mind in a portion of this Confederaby. Danger may speak with a loud trumpet to the ear of reason and justice.

It may be said that I have passed through the ordeal of experience, and perhaps of time, and that they have had their influence on my temper; but, sir, I look on anything like a rupture in civil government, and especially such a one as would throw us into the horrors of anarchy, with not the same view as others who may be more intrepid, and who may think they can come out of it without hazard to themselves. There is nothing so mischievous to society as any movement affecting its stability, uncontrolled by responsibility and unregulated by intelligence. fanaticism and prejudice are fatal counselthey have exercised their influence on the

Now, before I approach the main point on has fallen harmless, I must dispose of some of the remarks After the Senator from New Hampshire and its highways dreuched with blood. made by the Senator from New Hamp- had disposed of the Supreme Court under When those people were suppliants, how shire, [Mr. Hale.] I reply to his remarks because he has been in this Chamber for a fonger period than the Senator from Mas.

I am not one of those who undertake to defend the President on all person who saved them is to be converted war with Mexico as having been fought to decade the contest, for the very reason that sachusetts, [Mr. Wilson.] and has had associations here which I think ought at least to have tempered some of his expressions.

Intercase to defend the I resident on an occasions; but, sir, he is the Chief Magistrate of this Confederacy, and whilst I am to be immolated on the altar of fanatical ventor be in the Confederacy, I will see at least that geance; and that, too, through the medium of negotiation. At that time, ber, sir, that Hector, at the seige of Troy, I do not intend to use the language of asperity in this debate, if I can avoid it; but allow me to say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I think, when he used some expressions, not only in relation to the Course which the President has the Desident of the United States the Language of the United States the Language of the Language of an eighbor's hand, moved, perhaps, by a neighbor's hand, moved perhaps, by a neighbor's hand moved pe the President of the United States, the taken, by saying that he had committed attributed to him a ferocity of unexampled his place and say that he intended to main- to the quarrel of effeminate Paris —but once chief magistrate of this Confederacy, but in relation to the Supreme Court, and other cut course of conduct by receiving Dorr late to his nature. Throughout the whole mainly that it would create a cordon of the house of Priam. Departments of this Government; and when he allowed himself to read from a newspaper, under the signature of an anonymous writer, statements in reference to a distinguished gentleman with whom he had been guished gentleman with whom he had been to guished gentleman with the guished dictates of his own nature; for I believe that fedaracy, after he has attained the high po- neighbors knowing each other, and who pose the same Wilmot proviso? Do they Hampshire undertakes to say that, through-

supreme Court of the citaded of slavery. He did not know which he made that remark how far it extended and what it might not embrace. Is he not associated with a class of positicians, he not associated with a class of positicians to the organ of any portion of New Constitution of the United States—the functamental law of their country—was the citaded of slavery? Yes, sir. I have had pamphlets within the last week laid on my desk, maiataining that the Cunited States is the state intended of slavery? Yes, sir. I have had pamphlets within the last week laid on my desk, maiataining that the Cunited States is the first of all who are committed to his care. He is not now a party in the slavery and that, unless it is broken down, and the institution of slavery thereby reachs.

Sir, that compromise, as it has been called and where he would have been more like guardians, and she would have been more like guardians, and trade, and she would have been more like guardians, and trade slaves would have been more like guardians, and trade slaves would have been more like guardians, and trade party of the tree states have been created, which fire fire of for their protection. In this relation they become objection?! to the Abolitonists, who are willing to violate its true intendment, because south of have suffered more willing to violate its true intendment. It say its true intendment, because south of have suffered when those who have enjoyed it. I was its southern aggression? She parted with hat domain, and gave it over to the non-slaveholding population of the population of the parted with hat domain, and gave it over to the non-slaveholding population of the united states is trustee of the whole United States—the fun-damental law of their country—was the organ of any portion of New Hamp'shire; nor is heavilete to any latitude.

Sir, that compromi Price Two Dollars per annum in advance, or \$2.50 at the end of the year. If not paid until after the year expires \$3.00.

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Money may be remitted through postmasters at desk, maintaining that the Constitution of the Constitution of the last week laid on my desk, maintaining that the Constitution of the Constitution of the United States—the fundamental law of their country—was the citadel of slavery? Yes, sir. I have had pamphlets within the last week laid on my desk, maintaining that the Constitution of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Hampshire; nor is hesubject to any latitude.

With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Hampshire; nor is hesubject to any latitude.

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With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not those called slaves would have been better off for their protection. In this reduction, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Hampshire; nor is hesubject to any latitude.

With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Hampshire; nor is hesubject to any latitude.

With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Latitude.

With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whole Union. He is not the organ of any portion of New Latitude.

With the vigilance and even solicitude of a guardian, he must protect the interest of the whol

sas affairs. I intended no more; and I have had intercourse with its shall endeavor to discharge that duty before I conclude the remarks which I propose now to submit.

| Court—and I have had intercourse with its venerated and venerable chief justice, from my official position as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary—I do not before now to submit.

| Court—and I have had intercourse with its venerated and venerable chief justice, from the most odious acts of the British Government. He went there sending out men who go, not with four the most odious acts of the British Government. We went there sending out men who go, not with four the most odious acts of the British Government. We went there are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government to be its Governor, and to carry out the provisions of that law, just as much as if the Missouri line had not been repealed.

| Court—and I have had intercourse with its venerated and venerable chief justice, from the Territory, sending out men who go, not with four the most odious acts of the British Government. He went there sending out men who go the most odious acts of the British Government to be its Governor, and to carry out the most odious acts of the British Government. Now look at the acquisition of the Territorial Government. Now look at the acquisition of the III when the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the British Government are always regarded it as one of the most odious acts of the Briti gression is sin. I wish to recognise no tri-bunal and no set of opinions which will at-I come now to another personage in this cenary homicide.

"Let the fearful ocean surge upon its base, Let storms assail its summit-

the arrow may belong to one more willing of meeting an open enemy in the field. to wound than it can be able to hurt. It He effectually exerted his influence, under has certainly been discharged by an archer the appeal made to him, to save from fire occupying too great a distance from his ob- and sword the village of Lawrence, the ors; and under the Sharpe's rifle influence ject to do harm. Let me hope that there stronghold of the aid society emigrants. is more of the hand than the heart that But for the gentle advice, and, perhaps, has been exhibited in the shot. The weap | controlling influence, of Atchison, the he

Sir, what did I hear him say? That the summit, where the horizon he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery he citadel of slavery. He did not know he citadel of slavery he citadel o Supreme Court of the United States was taining the summit, where the horizon the citadel of slavery. He did not know would be more distinct, and where he with some masters, but with some servants, Sir, that compromis

ed in all the States, it is a Constitution which ought to have no validity and obligation. I think I have seen the same gation. I think I have seen the same of Nav Havvahire but Law that Law t statements in a paper called the Radical Abolitionist. When the Senator speaks of the Supreme Court as the citadel of the institution of slavery, he might better have gentleman gets a seat on this floor, to ty, or anything like an equality, the movedesignated them as opposed to those who bring under proscription the conduct of ments and conduct of those who have gone our common deliberations—the torch in have called the Constitution of their coun- one of his fellow-citizens, who is now the to Kansas with Sharpe's rifles in their hands, one hand and the Bible in the other—the try the citadel of slavery. Sir, I would prefer regarding the Judges of the Supreme Court, as far as I know anything of their Court, as far as I know anything the Court, as far as I kn decisions, as the sentinels and defenders of to him, that he was then comparatively a population of a portion of the two sections will, but doing their own, the Constitution—a Constitution recognis—young man, and that having cultivated the has never been so well illustrated as in I have stated one reason Accommodate Mr. Butler;

Mr. Butler said: Mr. President, I prefer to go on now. When I obtained the floor the other day upon this question, it was with a view to make a very few remarks in order to relieve the Senate from any impression which might be made on it by the pression which might be made on the resposibility attempts and prejudice.

They have not going date Mr. Butler;

Mr. Butler said: Mr. President, I prefer to go on now. When I obtained the floor the other day upon this question, it was imposing on them such obligations as that they are not permitted to transfer their judgments into another jurisdiction, pression which might be made on it by the acceptance of the southern aggression? They have not going days or up—as the form and prejudice.

They have not going days or up—as the form and that having cultivated the lessons of liberty which his ancestors had that very demonstation. The western people. Now I go further, and I say, in regard to the intermeddling of fanatical influence that very demonstation. The western people. Now I go further, and I say, in regard to the intermeddling of fanatical influence that very demonstation. The western people. Now I go further, and I say, in regard to the intermeddling of fanatical influence that very demonstation. The western people. Now I go further, and I say, in regard to the intermeddling of fanatical influence that very demonstation. The western people. Now I go further, and I say, in regard to the intermeddling of fanatical influence that very demonstation. The western people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The western people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his ancestors had the very demonstation. The vestern people which his a very demonst

lieve Lhave ever known a body of men board the Bellerophon, claiming the rights use, but all going with one uniform gun— Reeder received his commission as a tenant portion of it north of 36 deg. 30 min., and The debate on this subject, Mr. President, has brought many things within its scope, and has, in my opinion, been made the occasion of fearful indications for the future. What the developments of the fatter is the occasion of the occasion occasion of the occasion occas ents were driven out of Paradise, it was under the suggestions of the higher law.

Themistocles. If Dorr, instead of going to to drive off others, if it became a contest, was placed there as a sentinel; but what Kansas is not to be a slave State. Sir, I was his course? He first assembled the do not know that it will be a slaveholding The Devil went in and suggested to Eve lina, perhaps, at that time, I myself, to the they are called, never anticipated. The crime Legislature at Pawnee City. They were State. I say, however, that when the that there was a higher law; and, disregard- deluded yound man, would have been the of those who are designated by that name, not long there before they adjourned to southern portion of the United States parting the law under which she was placed last to have seen him sacrificed to his delu if homicide should be committed, would be the Shawnee Mission. He refused to sanc- ed with that dominion which we rightful-

tempt to rule the country except by some affair, a distinguished friend of mine, Gen. prescribed law and a constitution laid down Atchison, who has also received the notice for them by those who give them their both of the Senator from New Hampshire perhaps the greatest that ever was triedofficial existence. I believe that the Su and the Senator from Massachusetts, I preme Court has committed errors, though have known General Atchison long and to the public domain, the common domain law, he was in a position to do much evil not intentionally. I believe their decision in the case of Prigg and Pennsylvania has led to mischigana Pennsylvania has led to mischievous consequences not in- ness in relation to the affairs of Kansas regarded as one party, and what they by his judgment might save the vessel. He tended by the court. When the court un- which is refuted by every confidential letter choose to call the border ruffians the other refused to continue with his trust, and has treasure and whose arms was it acquired? have no reason to conclude but that the country are conflicted by the count. When the country are conflicted by every confidential letter dertook to say that the States themselves in Kansas may result in the shedding of blood; and, sir, my word for it, one drop of blood shed in civil strife in this country, in which par ties have been distinctly arrayed, so far as the shed between the two parties in Kansas which he sates themselves which he has written to me, and which is refused to continue with his trust, and has given rise to fearful trial.

Well, sir, when Reeder would not do not in conformity to the truth. I will not say that the suit shall be tried by every confidential letter which he has written to me, and which is fearful trial.

Well, sir, when Reeder would not do not in conformity to the truth. I will not say that the suit shall be tried by every confidential letter which he has written to me, and which is fearful trial.

Well, sir, when Reeder would not do not his duty and carry out the provision of the law, what was the President to do? Re at decision tending to absolve the States for the enigrants in Kansas who have been distinctly arrayed, so far as the next stead to continue with his trust, and has given rise to fearful trial.

Well, sir, when Reeder would not do will not say that the suit shall be tried by every confidential letter which he has written to me, and which is heaven to me, and whose arms was it acquired?

Sir, I will not intended by the court. When he has written to me, and whose arms was it acquired?

Sir, I will not intended to say that the suit shall be tried by every confidential letter which he has written to me, and whose arms was it acquired?

Sir, I will not intended to say that the suit shall be tried by every confidential letter which he has written to me, and whose arms was it acquired?

Sir, I will not is duty and carry out the provision of the law, what was the President to do? I was not acquired?

Sir, I will not is the same the suit of the same than the suit shall be from the honor of compacts. They did not sent there by the aid societies; but I say inflame the public mind of their own secsay it in so many words, nor do I think their decision is of that import, but the non slaveholding States have so construed say it in so many words, nor do I think their decision is of that import, but the non slaveholding States have so construed say it in so many words, nor do I think that I know of no man, within the tion, without regard to the dictates of the range of my acquaintance, who could be invested more effectually with the attribute of their decision is a sent there by the aid societies, and the most important concerns of truth of history. Now, what are the facts in relation to this case? As I have them, bied at Big Springs, and nominated as \$300,000,000,000 which it is said have been may be decided by the judgment of youththeir decision is of that import, but the name of my acquamatance, who could be non-slaveholding States have so construed in relation to this case? As I have them, it. Instead of that decision being a judg it. Instead of that decision being a judg butes of the conqueror of that class of people it. Instead of that decision being a judg butes of the conqueror of that class of people in relation to this case? As I have them, in relation to this case? As I have them, from authentic sources, they are not such their Governor (perhaps I may be mistaken, as their Delegate to Congress) this dent was not decision being a judg. non-slaveholding States of this Union; or now asperse him settle around him as have to answer more than any other hunon-slaveholding States of this Union; or rather to let their accommodating morality take refuge in it—to excuse them for disreduced which will be take refuge in it—to excuse them for disreduced which will be shed—for the occurrence of this Union; or now asperse min settle around min and assistance were required, he shed—if any shall be shed—for the occurrence of this Union; or now asperse min settle around min and the title under which he entered the Teritory. They not only did that, but they error before and generals. I might be as instituted proceedings for establishing a proud of the callantry of my own section as cuce into the public opinion which will jus. garding the obligations imposed upon them | would be first man to render them | assistas co operative agencies, &c.

I would rather regard that high tribunal as in the most of the heroes of Greece and of the name of squatter sovereignty, with, I come, and the heroes of Marathon. I will as one which could look abroad upon the vast and beautiful horizon of truth and just better illustration of his character than the and therefore could be wired out by the tice. I should not wish to see them govern- conduct he displayed in the expected tragedy ed by that popular agitation which is at Lawrence, I know the fact, and I state threatening to undermine the institutions it on my own authority, as a truth not to of the country, and to destroy, not only the be disputed, (because I have his letters in present form of our Union, but to wash away my drawer,) that, when that controversy he very landmarks of our forefathers. In arose, General Atchison was absolutely such a case I would be glad to see the Su- called upon to attend Pichardson's compreme Court, like the proud promontory mand, and he went, with a positive pledge on the part of those with whom he was as sociated that he should rather be the Mentor than the leader; and he has written to I wish it to stand firm at least as the type | me that but for his mediatorial offices, the of the duration of the institutions of this houses of the people of Lawrence would country, and as an emblem of eternal jus- have been burnt and the streets drenched I at least wish that, amidst the agi- in blood. An appeal was made to him untation of the time, it shall maintain its iden- der circumstances which his magnanimous tity. Let not the Senator from New nature could not resist. He had the cour-Hampshire suppose that he can assail or age to do a duty which in its performance touch that promontory by any shaft that might even offend his comrades and assohe may aim at it. The hand that shoots crates-a courage much higher than that

ses of the settlement would have been burnt of the war with Mexico. Day after day to overlook the taunts and insults which

nents would much nearer approach a mer-

be regarded as a great ejectment case-

and therefore could be wiped out by the same competent anthority. Missouri was admitted a ainst the consent of the North, as a body; but the South, in a spirit of she been treated! Since I have been a member of the Senate, no opportunity has not, on the occasion of territory being acquired south of that line, made a motion been a single occasion, when the opportunity has been presented, when they have not violated the implied pledge contained in the obligations of that line. I ring it in their ears. If I had no other cause to no more.

many of us went to the War Department have been heaped upon him. If David R. expecting to hear, what many did hear, the dreadful results of battle to friends and results and results are also better to friends and results and results are also better to friends and results are also better to friends and results and results are also better to friends and results are also better to friends and results are also better to friends and results

tlemen come in with the Bible in one hand to preach against slavery, and the torch in

I have stated one reason why the Mischartering the Kickapoo Ferry Company, I think. He refused to sanction the bill. Now, sir, I suppose this controversy may and refused to maintain the authority which

ompromise, agreed to that line. How has islature have been elected. That Legislawhat may be the-tragedy growing out of been offered when some northern man has the 4th of March, 1856. Sir, the news of what occurred in Kansas on the 4th re-March, 1856, may bring us the intelligence o exclude the slaveholder. There has not which will be the knell of the institutions -I will not say of the Union-of this country; for I hope there is wisdom enough

vipe out the line, I could find it in the What was the President to do under these act that they have not regarded it in good | circumstances? Who brought about this faith, but have violated their public honor catastrophe? What is the attitude of these and plighted faith, as expressed on the men! They have taken the law into their statute book. When Oregon was organi- own hands, and when they did so they im zed into a Territory, this feeling so far pre- plored David R. Atchison for mercy, and vailed that it would not allow Southern he saved them. Here I will do him the men to vote for it, upon the ground, that justice to say that he has not heretofore nasmuch as the territory lay north of 36 passed the Rubicon with the spirit of an deg 30, it might be organized under the ambitious ruler; but if hereafter he ever intendment of the Missouri compromise. passes that Rubicon, all his benevolence -Sir, you will remember the occurrence and it is very large-will not enable him

associated here—I will do him the justice President Pierce. Does the Senator sup- monstration on the part of the northern so- this heated language, if territory were to have characterized his speech, but I have to say that I hardly think he consulted the pose that the Chief Magistrate of this Con- cieties, Kansas would have been settled by be acquired to-morrow would they not pro- used no epithets. The senator from New generally he has rather shown a temper sition which he now occupies, is to admin- would have less objection because they did think that no violation of the Missouri out the whole of the controversy in relation that would lift him above such things, exister his trust as a common trustee for all
the people of the United States according perhaps, there might have been a few nethat would lift him above such things, exthe people of the United States according perhaps, there might have been a few nethat was conceded to them, and deny the pulling the arrow under the behests of his arging huntsmen. The Senator from New Hampshire is a committed advocate to a Democratic society?

The people of the United States according gross, there might have been a few here according perhaps, there might have been a few here gross, probably an "old mammy," or some favorite servants for household purposes, or field-laborers, contented in and bettered by the south that was conceded to them, and deny the benefit of its provisions to the South have been a few here according gross, probably an "old mammy," or some favorite servants for household purposes, or field-laborers, contented in and bettered by the propose a game of fair play. Let the south have been a few here. sectional, faratical organization; and, per-haps, he is not at liberty to deny the au-ascending a mountain should stop half way migh have been a population of that sort, in the process of territorial existence, deter-untrue. I do not impute to him personal

that they would give rise to a controversy in which an opinion would be incalcated by which she should be reproached for her decrepitude. She can well say,

"Yow sharper than a serpent's tooth it is To have a thankless child!"

To have a thankless child!"

Tankee is a very keen lellow, and I think he is the pioneer at bargan making and trade wherever there is an opportunity.

The next question I put to the gentlemen is, whether they would consent now

Hostile allies have availed themselves of

scribed, I suppose, by what is technically called the higher law—a jurisdiction of direction and prejudice.

They have not gone down or up—as gentlemen may choose to consider it—to gentlemen may choose to consider it—to distinguished spmpathizers. Mr. Pierce gentlemen may choose to consider it—to distinguished spmpathizers. Mr. Pierce go to Kansas? He went there under the authority of a law regularly constituting a lit brought about? I said before, that Gov—then been formed. It was then passing then been formed. It was then passing the passing the

in Paradise, she and her posterity have sions; and I believe much may be parsuffered the penalties of disobedience: transdoned to the spirit of liberty, guided by ter, whilst the blood shed by their oppobill brought to him afterwards was one excluded from the Louisiana territory, we bill brought to him afterwards was one excluded from the Louisiana territory, we has only met with the scorn and contempt power in Kansas, that legislature will b which a want of wisdom justly deserves. It had been conferred on him, and without was putting a rod in the hands of others, perhaps the greatest that ever was tried— which he would have been a criminal intru-to try the title of the two different sections der. As he was there under the color of the hope that it would be used as a weapon of common defence, but which has controlling his authority.

When we obtained California, by whose

instituted proceedings for establishing a proud of the gallantry of my own section as sing, he can save them from the consethe name of squatter sovereignty, with, I Rome, and the heroes of Marathon. I will to fire the federal gun, of which the senator suppose, the right of usurpers. They had a not refuse a common grave to the gallant from New Hampshire spoke. God knows, scoond meeting at Topeka, and adopted a Ransom, and the equally gallant Dickerson as I have said, one drop of blood shed in constitution in convention, and under that who fell in the same battle. I would not civil strife in this country may not only constitution elections have been held, and a deny to them the mingled wreath of the lau- dissolve this Union, but may do worse Governor, judges, and members of the leg- rel and the cypress. Sir, in the face of the Sir, I have such confidence in the good islature have been elected. That Legislature was to assemble vesterday. God knows blood in a common contest, and when we accommon in the present truth of history, when we have shed our blood in a common contest, and when we accommon in the present truth of history, when we have shed our blood in a common contest, and when we accommon in the present truth of history, when we have shed our blood in a common contest, and when we accommon contest is a second truth of history. quired a territory by common treasure, Union. Really it is broken already; for

Did the honorable senator from New only to look at this Union to be preserved Hampshire think that he could satisfy any by observing the obligations of the federal left to preserve republican institutions in one who heard him on these points! No, constitution, and the honor of compacts, durable form, should the present Union be sir; but it looks as if he intended to feed the and as to be maintained by the good faith swallow. They have been so much used circumstances, and did not lift themselves to eating dainty things at the North that so high that they saw more than others, ed with him, and I suppose he is the organ, height to live on garbage below. and stands at the head, of those who agree | The President of the United States is with him in opinion. Would be consent under the highest and most solemn obligathat Texas should have become a British tions to interpose; and if I were to indicate province, with the certainty that England the manner in which he should interpose would place that province in the same in Kansas, I would point out the old comcondition as its West India islands, and mon-law process. I would serve a warrant with the certainty that her policy would on Sharpe's rifles, and if Sharpe's rifles did be to make war on the institutions of Lou- not answer the summons, and come into isiana and other southe n States? Would court on a day certain, or if they resisted he take the part of England in such a con- the sheriff, I would summon the posses troversy sooner than of those who have comitatus, and I would have Col. Sum-given us our liberties and our rights! ner's regiment to be part of that posses take possession of Texas, and make war, deluded. There may be good men among like a roaring lion seeking whom it may them. I no not wish for an outbreak. devour among its neighbors? Would he think there are many men among them who, consent to that, on an acknowledged con on reflection, will give over their delusions. dition only that it should not have slaves, and should be pledged to make war on the because he differs from me; but I do desinstitutions of the southern States? Would pise those who are willing to commit othhe agree to make war on his southern ers to a contest in which they themselves confederates on such conditions and through will escape the consequences.

The next question which I have to pro-

ous distinctions; but I may remark that the Yankee is a very keen fellow, and I think

Hostile allies have availed themselves of the power thus acquired, and, like a cockatrice, are willing to sting the bosom that gave them life. The nurses, however, are much worse than children, some of whom much worse than children, some of whom have true-hearted, say so, but they would be rebuked about to remit Texas to her original condition, I have reason to know are true-heard, and are willing to maintain good faith, but for the intermeddling of fanatical influence that regards no restraint of law and compact.

Do you call that southern aggression? The South they would take Texas and exclude slavery, or that Texas should continue to sort to the safety-value of rhetoric to get rid of these difficulties, and to pour out its effusions on a deluded constituency. They make an ex parte motion, and do not expect a judgment on it

Now, sir, I have disposed of most of the topics which have been introduced into this debate, and I come to the main gravamen of the matter before us, and that is, what is the President to do? Suppose the so-called legislature assembled in Kansaa on the 4th of March absolutely hoisting the banner of treason, rebellion, and insurrection, what is the President to do! I tell you, sir, as much as the gentlemen to whom I allude denounce the President, if played the part of a generous parent who he should not interpose his peace-making opposed, and opposed by men as brave as they are, with weapons in their hands, and the contest will be decided by the sword. If it was only to involve them, perhaps it pervading the republic. Even in my own State I perceive that parties are being form-

Will gentlemen tell me that the Presi-

guilty of a criminal dereliction of duty if he were not to interpose; for, by interpoquences of this issue. I do not advise him what is the fact! Has it not been appro- the spirit which cherished it has been expriated to the non-slaveholding portion of this confederacy, under a non-slaveholding we ought to worship have been profated by false fires. I have been accustomed flames which are burning, but which he, of that old Puritan school which formed in his benevolence, ought to extinguish. the constitution, and did not have quite as The gravamen of his argument, however, much sentimentality as some of their sucis, that Texas was annexed with a view to cessors. I do not say what kind of succespander to southern insolence and pride. sors they are. Sir, the men of those days Now, I intend, in that connexion, to pro- had a hardy morality which dealt with pound some questions which those who events as they were. They had a wisdom agree with him will find it very difficult to which knew how to accommodate itself to their stomachs are not quite strong enough and sought ethereal regions because the for the wholesome food which I might of earth was too good for them. Sir, it is for them, and which their sentimental not the purest bird which always seeks the stomachs might reject. I will put my highest regions of air. The vulture, it is questions, however, to the senator from said, lives in the regions of eternal snow, ew Hampshire, for I am better acquaint- and yet it can descend from its ethereal

Would be consent that Great Britain should comitatus. The men in Kansas may b I am not among those who hate any man

Mr. President, I shall not pursue this subject further. I have reviewed what has pound on that point is, whether they would been said so far as I thought proper to alonsent that Texas should up to this time lude to it, and now I conclude with this rehave retained her separate existence as an mark-that if we are to be drifting in this way dependent republic upon our borders, into a dissolution of the Union, I would thority under which he has entered the sentence of the state presenting he had, sentence the state presenting herself for saluris. I make the remark in a histority under than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it should be dissolved to more than the certainty of the more except that it is not that the certain the certain than the carrying on, in a communercial point of rather that it should be dissolved to mor-